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ABSTRACT

The question of achievement motivation in relation to developing countries is explored. A foundation for the study is achieved through discussion of the socialization processes as they are affected by education and economic growth. It is suggested that the societal system determines motivation and values which in turn cause and determine the behaviors of individuals in the society. Problems affecting the development of achievement motivation in developing nations are noted and several existing programs in motivational development work are discussed. Knowledge of value systems, socialization practices, and economic factors in developing countries is seen as being necessary to the understanding of the concept of motivational achievement. Development in new nations, a process of trying to modernize societies while developing more creative individuals, is a matter relevant to education and resocialization practices. (Author/SHM)

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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AS A CASE OF RE-SOCIALIZATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by

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Introduction:

The unstructured nature of the human infant has everywhere brought into existence certain social forms and cultural values designed to mould and direct the potentialities of the human off-spring into socially determined channels. Socialization has two complementary meanings: from the society's point of view it is a process in which culture is transmitted and the individual is fitted into an organized way of life. From the individual's point of view socialization is the development of his personality and potentials for personal growth and development.[1] Socialization is a complex process that rests on the child's capacity to learn. Among other things, the child must learn what to value and what to aspire toward. Once mastered these skills must be reinforced. When the norms, values, beliefs and attitudes of the social system are internalized by an individual, then the efficacy of the socialization process is demonstrated.

Re-socialization in Developing Countries:

The process of socialization, by which an individual acquires his society's cultural patterns, poses a peculiar problem in developing countries.[2] Many of the societies in such countries stretch back before the Christian era, and have cultures which are established for centuries. Modernization has caused revolutionary changes in these traditional societies by introducing such factors as Western education and technology, industrial methods, modern medicine, mass communication, etc. The concept of modernization suggests that various parochial cultures are seeking a transformation of their old traditional moulds into a

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new sense of liberation and discovery in the development of an advanced technology and social organization that characterizes a new world culture. That many of the problems of 'economic development' facing developing countries are non-economic in nature is evident in the clash between a traditional social structure and an advanced technology that is currently convulsing many of these countries. The combination of old and new, and the alarming rate at which this is occuring, means that social change takes different forms in developing areas than it did in the Western world over a longer period of time. The central problem of social change is one of cultural adaptation and integration. The acquisition of new knowledge and the discarding of many old habits and behaviors are encouraged. A change in the future character of a society means a change in socialization. When attitudes, values, behavior and self-conceptions assume new roles and individuals undergo new experiences as in developing countries the process is re-socialization. Though socialization aims at the future and is intimately connected with both continuity and change[3], resocialization "denotes change that is more basic and more rapid, especially the abandonment of one way of life for another that is not only different form the former but incompatible with it."[4]

Education as an Instrument of Re-socialization:

Formal social agents are inducements applied to bring about cultural change and social thinkers like Condorcet and Durkheim have interpreted the school as such a major social instrument. Education manipulates the achievement of positive or change-producing behavior in a society towards specific goals. Though education has for long been a conservative rather than an innovating or revolutionary force, "the transmission of a cultural heritage"[5], in this age education is a change-producing force -- "the most revolutionary part of a revolutionary age."[6] As we survey history, education emerges as the most effective tool for

social change. Development means change; education for modernization and national development is education for change. Modernization is not necessarily Westernization and the old and cherished values which add dignity to human life in many developing countries must be preserved while new attitudes, values, practices and skills required of a dynamic society must be grafted onto the old. What is the role of education in these changes? Education, while preserving elements of the past which are worth keeping, is the agent for re-socialization by helping to acquire rapidly new behavior dispositions, new values and habits of thinking which are equal to the demand of a new age.

An interesting feature of socialization in most of the developing countries is that while the family has been and still is a very significant socializing agent, yet paradoxically, the formal educational system has a heavy responsibility in socialization. An obvious reason for this is that in the change necessary for national development education is used for "counter-socialization of individuals whose orientations have already been formed to some extent along traditional lines."[7] The responsibility of the formal educational system is the greater in this regard not simply because of the absence or underdevelopment of other cultural agencies of socialization, but because it is "obviously among the most effective and potentially manipulable resocializing institutions"[8] in countries trying to develop.

Achievement Orientation and the Impulse to Modernize:

Economic growth has everywhere occured interwoven with political and social change.[9] Whatever the forces of change may be, they impinge on every aspect of human behavior and the interrelationships among elements of physical environment, social structure, personality and culture. However, even if there is no single key factor in causing modernization and

development independently of other forces, certain factors may be more important in initiating change than others. Identifying such factors seems imperative in accelerating the growth rate of modernizing nations. A most problematic area of contemporary social science is regarding the sources of change. What causes some nations to "take off" into rapid economic and social growth while others are static? Why does a nation advance more at a particular period and not at another ? What initiates economic growth and modernization ? Is it capital or skilled manpower or social justice and an effective political system ? Or is it rather a value system -- the strong sense of purpose and direction[10] -- an impulse to achieve ?

It has become increasingly clear that the presence of capital, skilled manpower, natural resources and democracy do not guarantee a high rate of economic development. Consequently, attention has been attracted to psychological and sociological explanations of development. This path which confronts the social and cultural system stresses the great importance of attitude and value change in the creation of a modern society. Exponents of this view include people of widely differing political attitudes and values such as Mao Tse-tung ,the Chinese Cultural revolutionary, and D.C.McClelland, the Harvard psychologist. Ever since Max Weber wrote The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism the concept of achievement orientation has been important to sociologists and economists concerned with economic development.[11] A fundamental value system like achievement orientation consists of more than one component.[12] There is existing evidence that a positive correlation exists between measures of motivation and measures of value and that they predict different aspects of achieving behavior.[13]

see Raven's art. qual

The importance of psychological factors in economic, social and political development is becoming more and more widely recognized. Among the psychologists who have shed light on the

theories of development, D.C.McClelland's contribution is his focus on psychological factors that account for increases and decreases in economic growth, particularly motivational determinants like the n-Achievement (need for achievement) which has become associated with his name.

Is the desire to be creative, to meet high standards of performance and to have a successful career the motive which gives the impetus to modernize ? No social motive has been more thoroughly studied than the need for achievement.[14] Achievement motivation has been defined in terms of concern for excellence in carrying out a task, as reflected in competition with the standards set by others or by oneself, unique accomplishment or long-term involvement. Achievement behavior is directed toward the attainment of approval or the avoidance of disapproval (the goal) for competence of performance (characteristic of the behavior) in situations where standards of excellence are applicable. N-achievement is an indicator of this construct.

Achievement Motivation and Economic Growth:

One
The measurement of achievement motivation is based on the content analysis of children's textbooks and the coding of samples of popular literature.[15] McClelland (1961) who initiated studies of the achievement motive claims that need achievement as investigated by these procedures is related to individual success in the occupational sphere and also to the development and modernization of nations. A study of this motive in some contemporary societal systems as well as in some medieval and ancient societies showed that the upsurge of economic activity in a society followed an increase in the level of achievement motivation in that society.[16] To interpret these findings in a greatly compressed form, high achievement motivation predicts economic growth. From a theoretical point of view such a formulation, assessed with empirical methods, may help to

explain on more general grounds the ebb and flow of economic development in various parts of the world and in various historical epochs. More practically it suggests that the stimulation of economic growth in developing nations may be more fruitful if it emphasizes the development of n-achievement. For instance, a simple example used by McClelland illustrates this point:

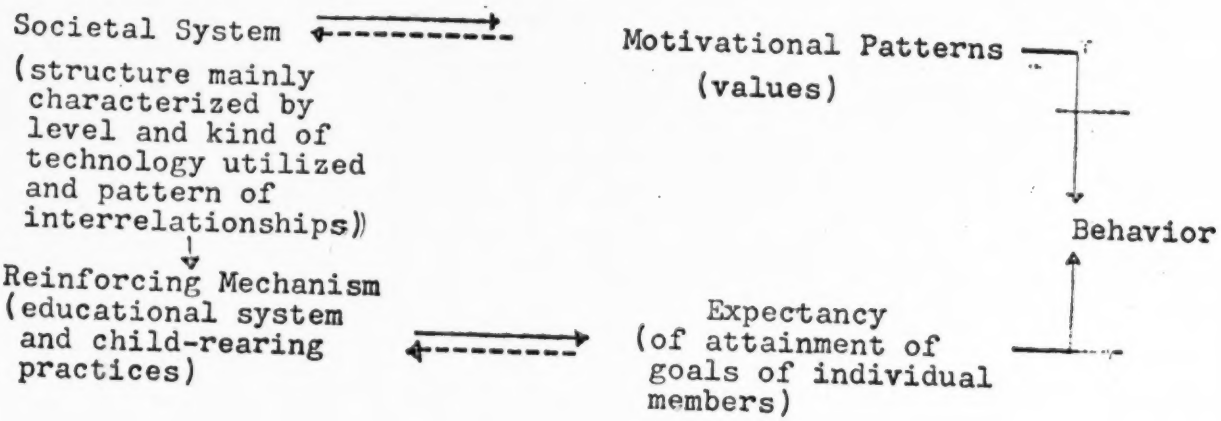
> " The government of India decided to help the fishermen of Kakinada by providing them with nylon fishing nets, which were a clear technical improvement. For instance, they required less mending and did not break or tangle easily. The idea was that the fishermen would catch more fish, make more money, and buy more consumer goods, leading the businessmen of Kakinada to expand their business, and so on. The fisherman caught more fish, to be sure; but two unexpected things happened. Some stopped fishing as soon as they had caught as much as they were used to catching (they worked less); and others made more money which they spent on bootleg liquor (the state is dry). This is probably not the end of the story, but over and over again technical innovation has been shown not to produce attitude change. Better fishing nets did not increase the n-achievement of the fishermen:their desire to do better, to save, to invest."[17]

While McClelland points out "n-achievement is by no means all there is to modernization"[18] he is convinced it is a key ingredient.

Motivational Patterns and Planned Social Change:

The finding that motivation is significantly correlated with economic growth has increased efforts directed at planning and influencing change in particular societies. The concept of motive orientation proposes that the societal system determines motivation and values which in turn cause and determine the behaviors of individuals in the society. Evidence that motives can be developed is an important reason for the increased interest in motivation for contributing to effective planning

and sustaining of change in the world. A motivational paradigm of development proposed by U. Pareek can be helpful in planned social change.[19]



According to this paradigm, a societal system and its reinforcing mechanisms (e.g. socialization through educational system and child-rearing practices) generate corresponding motivational patterns and values, and expectancy of attainment of the goals of individual members. Both of these determine the kind of behavior individuals show in society and also influence the societal system. Social change, which is psychologically speaking change in the behavior in a society, is them the result of the motivational pattern and the pattern of expectancy which themselves are the products of a societal system and its reinforcing mechanisms (educational system).

Each societal system generates a particular pattern of motivatiom which maintains that system by causing appropriate behavior among individual members in the society. In the natural course of social change (unplanned change), the older motivationall patterns and the pattern of expectancy may continue for sometime and the new ones may develop slowly so that transition from one system to the other is slow , as has been in the past. A strategy of development would consist of bringing about change in the societal system and its reinforcing mechanisms by producing appropriate patterns of motivation and expectancy through suitable

socialization patterns.

Three motivations have been proposed as being important for social change[20] -- achievement motivation and extension motivation (or 'other-directedness' which implies concern for the common welfare of others) should be developed for effective social change and the dependency motive (e.g. a result of the feudal system which has negative effects on development) should be drastically reduced.

Re-socialization and Achievement Motivation through Education:

An important question is how to accelerate social change by raising the level of achievement motivation and the extension motivation, and reducing the dependency motive. One premise on which a strategy can be worked out for developing motivations for social change is by designing education to influence fantasy and skills. This can be done by creating new appropriate imagery (as reflected in textbooks, literature, fine arts),and developing and sustaining new skills through work on goals that decondition or resocialize people by helping them break away from unproductive and obsolete modes of behavior.

Both behavior theory and psychoanalysis agree that stable personality characteristics like motives are laid down in childhood. A great deal is known about the origins of n-achievement in childhood and its specific effects on behavior so that educational programs can be systematically planned and their effects evaluated in terms of this knowledge. In the research on achievement motivation the hypothetical construct of motive does not suffice to explain the phenomena of actual motive arousal which is an interactive product of motive and various conditions, circumstances and constraints of a presently given situation or setting.[21] However, success and failure are two critical events which terminate given behavior sequence so that motive has to be regarded as an organized system ~~with a~~

with a fairly high degree of cognitive complexity made up of generalized expectancies. Research has left little doubt that thought samples permit the prediction of actions and behaviors to a remarkable degree.

Given a method of analysing cultural products as children's stories and foklore for n- achievement, McClelland finds this motivational characteristic tends to occur with greater intensity and frequency against a background that includes a certain configuration of child-rearing practices (such as parental warmth, low dominance by the father, high standards of excellence), a tradition of variation and pluralism in the culture, positiwe religious values in the family and society,etc.. A key to modernization, then, may be to maximize these kinds of socialization experiences so that n-achievement mediates such overt behavior as calculated risk taking, the acceptance of individual responsibility,personal mobility and ambition, and other activities consonant with an entrepreneurial role.

Several studies have shown that achievement motivation has its origins in a complex of interrelated socialization practices.[22] First and most important is achievement training,i.e. getting the child to do things well. Related to the development of the achievement motive is another set of socialization practices called independence training which involves expectations that the child be self-reliant when competing with standards of excellence. Both these socialization practices can be introduced and reinforced through the educational system. The child is granted autonomy in problem solving and decision making in situations where he has freedom of action and responsibility for success or failure. In his book On The Theory of Social Change[23] Hagen draws attention to two aspects of the personality which are requirements for transition to economic growth. Firstly, a fairly widespread creativity and problem-solving ability must be developed, and

individuals should cultivate a tendency to use it. Secondly, a positive attitude toward manual and technical labor and the physical world must be created so that the creative energies are channelled into innovation in the technology of production. Technological advance in the developing countries, by simply imitating the technical methods of the West are not acceptable. Certain attitudes are essential because the less creative cling to traditional society. Characteristics central to creativity are high need achievement and high need autonomy.

The questions for each developing nation in this context are: how prevalent are achievement training and independence training practices ? What is the relationship of child-rearing practices to the educational system ? What effect does this system have on the development of the achievement motive ?

Children in the authoritarian system receive little training in two areas important for the development of achievement motivation, i.e. achievement and independence training.

How does culture, including social organizations, affect the capacity of individuals to adjust to a developing economy or to re-socialization circumstances ? The answer appears to lie in the type of socialization and hence learning associated with different types of cultures.[24] In a culture characterized by highly specific solutions to recurrent problems rote learning is expected to predominate, with behavioral prescriptions explicitly and mechanically taught. This constitutes a barrier to learning new skills in re-socialization circumstances because the product of learning cannot easily be altered to accommodate unusual experiences or observations contrary to those previously incorporated. In a culture characterized by generalized solutions to recurrent problems children are taught a set of principles with which to generate appropriate behavior because rote learning is of less value.

This mode of learning favours easy readjustment to accommodate new or contrary experiences and constitutes less of a barrier to relearning. However, receptivity to learning necessary conditions is not a sufficient condition for achievement by itself.because people must be motivated to achieve. McClelland's n-achievement syndrome can be conceived as an attitude-drive (mobilization of energy and resources) in which relevant attitudes are a high level of aspiration. In an independent environment the child is likely to be able to resolve the problems or tasks that confront him. This is expected to be an optimal condition for developing a strong sense of mastery and an inducement to achievement as it facilitates an anticipation of success,thereby enhancing motivation and a problem-solving response. A sense of failure tends to diminish motivation and produce inert responses. The effectiveness of situation arousal variables has been the particular concern of J.W.Atkinson and his model of achievement motivation[25] proposes that the

$$\text{Tendency to achieve success} = \text{Motive}(M) \times \underset{\text{of success}}{\text{Probability}}(P_s) \times \underset{\text{of success}}{\text{Incentive}} (I_s)$$

Successful adaptation is an indirect function of such factors as the degree of social stratification (on which depends mobility and probablity of success) and those interaction patterns conducive to incentive of success and achievement drive. According to this model motivation alone cannot bring about change; it must be accompanied by expectancy and the societal system provides that expectancy frame through the educational structure.

Problems Affecting the Development of Achievement Motivation:

Undoubtedly, many factors in developing nations combine to affect the development of the achievement motive. Extreme poverty and disease are important factors. When misery is the common human lot it is easy to believe in fate in order to

rationalize one's existence and make it bearable. Fortunately, a fact of life in the developing nations now is what Adlai Stevenson has called the "revolution of rising expectations". The fatalism and resignation which removed one from participating in one's own fate (though it saved him from frustration and futility at times) is turning to a spirit of hope that the good life is attainable by all. Education is a motivating force in this revolution. The better life will depend on the ability to turn from fatalism to dynamism. Such a motivation is often facilitated by government policy as for example, progressive discrimination in India which protects and safeguards by appropriate legislation, certain scheduled castes and tribes with the object of promoting their educational and economic interests. Special scholarships for all levels of education, reserved seats in educational institutions, government services, State legislative assemblies and the House of Commons have given them much mobility and motivation.

The spread of education is closely related to a limiting factor in the developing countries. While the educated multiply in number, lack of capital result in slow growth of the economy so that few jobs are created which are acceptable by the educated. The gap between aspirations and expectations in many cases exists because the relationship between expectancy, occupational achievement and mobility is often unrealistic. A study of achievement motivation in Nigeria shows that the incentives provided by a status mobility system for personality characteristics such as n-achievement, affect the actual distribution of such characteristics in the population for several generations.[26] Kahl[27] shows that of the four key components in the measurement of achievement orientation mastery over environment, trust in people and independence of family ties are value components positively related to social status, while the fourth component -- desire for occupational accomplishment -- is negatively

related to social status. The rigidity and hierarchical nature of the social system combined with authoritarianism and excessive protectiveness in developing countries, all affect the individuals need to excel. In the light of emerging economic, political and social expectations instruction often neglects the pressing needs of the nations where creativity and individuality must be fostered. Too often instruction is abstract and theoretical and too supportive of rote learning. Education as an instrument of re-socialization in developing countries must be allied with technology, not only in the direct teaching of science and its technical application, but also by preparing the way for technological impact by making the mind receptive to change, increasing the ability and the will to adapt to it and to work for the economic, social and other benefits that may flow from it. It is realized of course, that the developing nations cannot really be lumped together because of striking differences in culture, geography, historical background, economic development and political maturity. Their aspirations, problems and solutions are not the same except perhaps at the level of broad generalization. Besides, the state of affairs is often unaviodable due to rapidly expanding educational systems.

An important problem related to the development of achievement motivation deals with the psychological dimensions of n-achievement. Little research has been done on the fact that n-achievement by itself does not automatically lead to socially useful activities. It must be accompanied by an interest in the general welfare of others; "other-directedness" is as important as the achievement syndrome though independent of it.[28] Without it the achievement motive could, for example, lead to success in subversive activities such as crime. If n-achievement is to be developed how can it be used only within a specified context ? Economic development

will depend on achievement in clearly defined spheres which center on work, not for example on writing exquisite poetry, even if that is desirable. For an appropriate theoretical framework goals must be defined and the means of reaching the goals defined in terms of realities of the social structure. In so far as the goals and means differ in the process of economic development at different times it would be naive to predict national economic development primarily from abstract achievement motivation. Motivation 'causes' human behavior and thus initiates changes in a community. It is perhaps a strong and important link in the dynamic causal cycle of human evolution, and not necessarily the prime cause of change in human society. To quote McClelland: "All the achievement motivation in the world without knowledge (as in some preliterate tribes) should have little effect on economic growth.... Motivation plus knowledge predicts growth better than either motivation or knowledge alone."[29]

Achievement Motivation in Developing Countries:

McClelland has proposed a theory of motivation development and has put forward several propositions for such programs.[30] Specialized educational programs have been established by the Human Resources Development Corporation in Mexico, India, Italy, Egypt, Japan and Malaya. The main body of the motivational development work has been done on the national program level in Mexico and India (sponsored by Ford Foundation) where increased achievement was likely to have socially beneficial effects.

The first systematic experiment was carried out in India at the Small Industry Extension Training Institute. The ten-day achievement motivation development program was based on McClelland's propositions for motive acquisition, and mainly emphasized the changing fantasy and concepts of success, the provision of

opportunity for the participants to examine their behavior and values, and help in developing skills for the planning of goals. The results were very encouraging.

An important study done in India with high school boys[31] showed that boys of fathers with high education (professional) and of fathers with low education (skilled and unskilled workers) showed higher levels of n-achievement than boys of fathers with secondary school education (clerical workers). These results have significant implications for development. The lower socio-economic class seems to have higher motivation for change and can be mobilized in accelerating socio-economic development in a nation. The four-month achievement motivation development program given by teachers trained for this purpose resulted in a statistically significant increase in the level of achievement motivation.

While these specific programs confirm that n-achievement can be increased in developing countries, it may be interesting to discuss the effect of long-term re-socializing practices in this context. Motivational concerns favouring economic and social development have been found to be prominent in Communist countries. It has been pointed out[32] that the Communists produce rapid economic growth not because of socialism but because of their fanatical belief in its superiority. A conviction in one's superiority increases the achievement motive and this results in accelerated growth.

McClelland scored two sets of Chinese stories which revealed a significant increase in the saliency of achievement oriented activities associated with the change in political leadership on the mainland. In the following tables[33] the score for Republican China corresponds to the pattern found in static, tradition oriented societies.

	Republican China (1920-1929)		Taiwan (1950)		Mainland (1950)	
	Mean	score	Mean	score	Mean	score
N-achievement	.86	- .90	1.81	- .25	2.24	+ .32
N - Affiliation (concern for others)	.30	- 2.02	.43	- 1.91	1.05	- .55
N - Power (need for control)	1.28	- 1.53	1.00	+ .57	1.81	+ 3.21

Communist ideology on the whole seems to have more success in moving the Chinese toward psychological pre-conditions for modern technological and sociological order than Western democratic ideology (on Taiwan), though achievement rose under both influences. The Communists have set high standards for their people, and their educational materials stress individuals actively working to meet and exceed these standards. McClelland found in the readers a focusing of areas in which achievement is valued. The Communists emphasize education as a means to building better material life rather than as an end in itself. In the area of psychic motives affecting behavior they have relied on traditional emotional bases of social relation and control to increase the rewards for effective co-operation and sanctions against defection. Expanding the achievement motive from its traditional limited basis on competitive scholarship has led to mass popular mobilization for task-oriented learning and productive labor.

In considering the levels of concern for achievement in three key countries in South-east Asia, McClelland found that all the three countries --India, Pakistan and China -- had participated in a wave of high n-achievement.[34] All the countries were above average in n-achievement score: standard scores based on public school readers in 1950 were --India +.95, Pakistan +.39, Mainland China +.32. Data provided in The Achieving Society show that India and Pakistan were both above average in their rate of gain in electric power produced between 1952 - 1958, possibly because high n-achievement is common in newly independent countries. Data from China is difficult to get but evidence by Malenbaum[35] suggests it has been developing at an even faster rate than India.

To aid the implementation of their political goals the Chinese have started a new culture portrayed by the image of a new life. A rational view of the world, combined with a desire

to be creative and excel are elements of the new culture which provide the human energy and skills for economic development. Yet particular problems are involved in inculcating this new and radically different culture.[36] In activating total social mobilization the risks of apathetic or active opposition in case of economic failure or unfulfilled expectations arise. The problem of credibility arises because the claim to political legitimacy is based on an ideology while the young may require more convincing grounds for faith. In addition, an ambivalence is caused when personal integrity and initiative are directed towards creativity yet Party demands for detailed leadership and control impose restrictions.

A study of planned social and cultural change in Uzbekistan to modernize the country rapidly shows evidence of a major achievement of the Soviet system.[37] Two neighboring countries, Afghanistan and Iran, with greatly common religious ideology, ethnic and cultural history remain backward inspite of huge sums of foreign capital. Through mass education in Uzbekistan the goals of industrialization and the revolutionary socialist doctrine have modified the values, habits and beliefs of the people at a very accelerated pace. It may be questioned, of course, at what cost development in the Communist world has been accomplished, and whether the means can really be called modern. The fact that stands out, however, is that though the Communists are ideological materialists much of their effort goes into changing peoples ideas.

A comparative study of two Asian countries which are not Communist nations -- Japan and Thailand -- show a clear divergence in economic performance inspite of common features (e.g. political independence) and similar external stimuli (i.e.exposure to occidental culture).[38] Concentration on factors which more directly condition, motivate and channel human and social activities show that the propensities for dynamising activities (innovation, co-operation, accummulation) were absent in Thailand and very

much promoted in Japan. While the Japanese fundamental emphasis was on activism (important for achievement motivation) and political values, the Thai value system centered around personal values and Budhist teachings about the responsibility of Karma.

Though the need to achieve seems to be very closely related to Weber's "Protestant ethic" which created strong achievement values and achievement motivation, the relation between achievement motivation and religion is not a simple one. For example, do the Protestants in the United States have more achievement motivation than Catholics ? Differences on mean n-achievement scores among ethnic groups are related to such factors as the respective rates of movement into high status occupations.[39] Certain types of Buddhism, notably Zen, seem to lead to strong concern for achievement and it would appear that this quality can be translated into many religious and cultural systems.[40]

Conclusion:

An important place must then be assigned to the value system and the socialization practices likely to increase achievement motivation. The question is not whether economic factors are important determinants in the process of economic development; they are. There is no evidence that appreciable economic development can take place without capital accumulation. The question why some societies do and others do not behave in ways which bring about sustained economic progress has important implications for aid. It is known, for example, that the ideological fervour the Russians exported to China was more influential in modernizing the country than all the material aid the Western democracies have exported to Taiwan or India.[41] Perhaps foreign aid is more likely to bring about sustained economic growth when the fundamental values in the society are

conducive to change. McClelland suggests that increasing the n-achievement level by half a standard score unit in a developing country would be more effective (and probably less expensive) in promoting economic growth than "tons of guns or butter".[42] While ideology by itself may not be the ideal and the only instrument for producing psychological pre-conditions for modern technology and a desirable social order, ideas have played an important role in shaping history. It would be quite wrong, of course, to think that a complex problem like economic and social development is exclusively the result of achievement motivation and value change. Yet if genuine efforts to be helpful in a needful world are to succeed they must comprehend more fully the people with whom they must deal, and the concept of n-achievement provides a powerful tool for furthering that comprehension. Perhaps more sophisticated ways of giving aid might be found which will be more effective precisely because they stress the importance of changing values or motivational concerns. In the final analysis, the problem of development lies largely with the new nations themselves, and it is a dual one of trying to modernize societies while developing more fully creative individuals. This is a matter profoundly relevant to education and resocialization practices.

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